

## CLASSICAL GREEK QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

by Robert Renhan

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S. P. D.*

*ego, quod rogatus eram ut munusculum in ἐπαγον ad te,  
vir clarissime, obserendum conferrem, ■ magis mihi vide-  
bar honorem accipere quam tribuere. attamen, quoniam  
rem, quam tractare mihi in animo erat, tibi cordi esse pro-  
 certo habebam, confirmatus sum ne propositum deponerem.  
sum igitur scrutaturus aliquatenus, quantulumcunque id  
est, qua ratione scriptores Graeci et Christiani inter se  
cohaereant, id quod non dubito quin magnopere probes.  
namque et ego et tu (si parva licet componere magnis) pari-  
cum gaudio studioque luculenta illa verba Wilamowitzii  
semper audimus: "... quo effectum est, ut Iudaica et  
Christiania multo magis distare videantur a Graecis, quam  
re vera distabant aut distare poterant. nam populus idem  
erat, eisdem moribus, eadem vita, eodem melioris vitae,  
puriorum morum desiderio, eadem denique superstitione.  
quapropter neque sine Graecis Christianae neque sine Chri-  
stianis Graecae litterae recte aut intellegi aut aestimari  
possunt. hoc nementote commilitane." \**

In this paper I shall attempt to answer two questions. First, how many actual quotations from Greek literature have been identified in the New Testament? (As will appear presently, there is no little confusion on this question, a confusion which is still widely disseminated in current editions and translations of the New Testament.) Secondly, are there likely to be any hitherto

\* Since these remarks of Wilamowitz' occur in one of his lesser known writings, some may find it useful to have the reference in full: *Index Scholarum publice et privatum in Academia Georgia Augusta per seculos* aestivum a. d. XV. m. Aprilis usque ad d. XV m. Augusti. a. MDCCCLXXXIII habendarum. Praemissa est Udalrici de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *De Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmentis Commentatio* (Gottingae 1893), p. 33.

unrecognized classical quotations in the New Testament? Before proceeding to these two questions proper, it is necessary to establish clearly the distinction between a) actual quotations and b) other literary inheritances taken over from the Hellenic παράδοσις by New Testament writers. (The following illustrations are offered as specimen examples only and are not intended to be exhaustive.)

First of all, we ought to distinguish between general allusions of a proverbial nature and specific quotations. Take, for instance, I Timothy 6.10: φίλα γάρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἔστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία. The evidence is fairly clear that this kind of statement is a proverbial commonplace which had long been current in the classical world: 1) Dinarchus *oratio* 1.22 ἐφ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ μικρῶν κακῶν ἡ τῶν τυχόντων ὅλη τῇ Ἑλλάδι αἰτίος γεγενῆσθαι Δημοσθένης καὶ ἡ τούτου φιλαργυρία; 2) Aristotle *frag.* 544 Rose ἡ φιλογρηματία Σπάρταν ὄλει, οὐλοῦ δὲ οὐδέν (compare Diodorus Siculus 7.12.5); 3) " Hippocrates " *Epiniale* 17.43 τούτων ἀπάντων αἴτην ἡ φιλαργυρίη; 4) Galen 1. 61 Κῦρον πάντα γάρ & τόλμωσιν ἀδίκως ἀνθρώποι, φιλογρηματίας ἀναπειδούσης ἡ γονητευόντης ἥδονής πράττουσιν; 5) Galen 5.53 Κῦρον αἰσχρὸν γάρ ... αἰσχραῖς καὶ ἀσελγέται καὶ τυραννικαῖς δεσποιναῖς δουλεύειν, φιλογρηματίας τε καὶ σμικρολογίας καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, καθὼς τούτων ἀπασῶν οὐκ ἐν ἀγνήσαιμι φάναι μητέρα τλεονεζέταν. Latin authors, presumably imitating Greek sources, express comparable sentiments: 1) Cato *ap.* Aulus Gellius 11.2.2 (= *frag.* 1 Jordan) avaritiam omnia vitia habere putabant; 2) Sallust *Catilina* 10.3 igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupidio crevit: et quasi materies omnium malorum fuere; 3) Horace *Odes* 3.24.48-52 ... gemmas et lapides aurum inutile, / summi materiem mali / ... eradenda cupidinis / pravi sunt elementa. Pseudo-Phocylides, verso 42 (= *Oracula Sibyllina* 2.111) is a very close parallel: ἡ φιλογρηματίη μήτηρ κακούτητος ἀπάσης. This is especially significant evidence, since the unknown author of the *Pseudo-Phocylidea* seems to have been a Hellenized Jew living in the first century before Christ<sup>1</sup> and thus represents a bridge (perhaps symbolic only) between pagan Greek literature and *First Timothy*. It thus appears that the famous biblical saying, "The love of money is the root of all evil," is in fact a familiar Greek τόπος. In addition to the passages already cited, compare also Diogenes the Cynic *ap.* Diogenes Laertius 6.50: τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν.<sup>2</sup> (φιλαργυρία, φιλάργυρος, φιλαργυρεῖν and their

<sup>1</sup> See R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York 1949), pp. 225-6.

<sup>2</sup> For some other examples, see Arndt-Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*<sup>4</sup> s. v. φιλαργυρία.

synonyms φιλοχρηματία, φιλοχρήματος, φιλοχρηματεῖν are all common words in Greek.) It does not even seem that the specific image, in this context, of "root" (ῥίζα) can be safely ascribed, as his own creation, to the author of *First Timothy*. This is suggested by a passage in Sophocles' *Antigone* (vv. 295 ff.):

οὐδὲν γάρ ἀνθρώποισιν οἷον ἄργυρος | κακὸν νόμισμ' ἔβλαστε.  
τοῦτο καὶ πόλεις | πορθεῖ, τόδ' ἄνδρας ἔξανίστησιν δόμων · | τόδ'  
ἐκδιδάσκει κτλ.

The implications of the verb ἔβλαστε for the existence of such an image are plain; indeed, the very phrase ῥίζα κακῶν (with a form of the verb βλαστάνω in the same verse!) is found as early as Euripides, *frag. 912*, 11 Nauck.

In this case the evidence was sufficiently abundant to exclude the possibility of coincidence. Often certainty on this score is not attainable, since the same or similar proverbial and gnomic utterances can occur independently in different authors or languages. Take Matthew 7.3: τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὄφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς; (Compare Luke 6.41.) Very close to this is *Comicorum Atticorum Frag. Adesp. 359* Kock: τί τάλλοτριον, ἀνθρώπε βασκανώτατε, / κακὸν δένδορκεῖς, τὸ δ' ἴδιον παραβλέπεις; (See also Horace *Sermones* 1.3.25-27, 73-74.) Is this coincidence or is there ultimately a common source? It seems to me impossible to say. A similar instance is Luke 4.23: Ιατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν. Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus* vv. 473-475:

κακὸς δ' ιατρὸς ὡς τις ἐξ νόσου  
πεσὼν ἀθυμεῖς καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχεις  
εὑρεῖν δοκοῖς φαρμάκοις θάσιμος.

and Euripides *frag. 1086* Nauck ἄλλων ιατρὸς αὐτὸς θλικεσιν βρύων; more explicit is Servius Sulpicius Rufus in a letter to Cicero (*ad Fam. 4.5.6*): *noli ... imitari malos medicos qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi = curare non possunt.* Babrius *Fable 120.6-7* is also quite similar:

« καὶ πῶς ν, ἀλώπηξ εἶπεν, « ἄλλον ἕρση,  
δε σαυτὸν οὕτω χλωρὸν δυτα μὴ σώζεις; »

(With Babrius' σώζεις compare *Mark* 15.31: ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι.) Here again, since the doctor who presumes to treat others, yet cannot treat himself is a natural enough 'type',

which could easily suggest itself to many, coincidence cannot be excluded — but, be it remembered, neither can the possibility that the New Testament writer does in fact derive from the same tradition as the 'pagan' authors.

By way of contrast, there are passages where coincidence can be clearly demonstrated. *Mark* 8.18 : ὅφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες οὐ βλέπετε καὶ ὅτα ἔχοντες οὐκ ἀκούετε ; *Matthew* 13.13 : βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν. See also *Mark* 4.12 ; *John* 12.40 ; *Acts*. 28.26. Various classical "parallels" can be cited :

— μαινόμενε, φρένας ἡλέ, διέφθορας· ή νῦ τοι αἴτως οβατ' ἀκούεμεν ἔστι, νόος δ' ἀπόλωλε καὶ αἰδώς.

(*Iliad*. 15. 128-129)

— οἱ πρῶται μὲν βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην,  
κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον ...

(*Aeschylus Prometheus* 447-448)

— οὐχ ὄρῆς ὄρῶν τάδε;

(*Aeschylus Agamemnon* 1623)

— σὺ καὶ δέδορκας κού βλέπεις ίν' εἰ κακοῦ

(*Sophocles Oedipus Tyrannus* 413)

— ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς πράσσοντες οὐ καφοί μόνον,  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄρῶντες εἰσορῶσι τάμφανή.

(*Sophocles frag.* 837 Nauck = *frag.* 923 Pearson)

— ... ὅστε, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ὄρῶντας μὴ ὄρῶν καὶ ἀκούοντας  
μὴ ἀκούειν ...

([*Demosthenes*] *oratio* 25.89)

— ἀξένετοι ἀκούσαντες καφοῖσιν ἐοίκασι· φάτις αὐτοῖσιν μαρ-  
τυρεῖ παρεόντας ἀπεῖναι.

(*Heraclitus frag.* 34 Diels-Kranz)

Eduard Fraenkel in his magnificent commentary to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus correctly observes at verse 1623 that "Very likely the tragedians are alluding to a proverb." He rightly states that "the expression [i. e. in verse 1623] belongs to a widespread popular 'thought-pattern', as has long been recognized," and then cites all the classical passages given above (except the Heraclitus fragment — which, curiously, Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14 p. 718, compares to the biblical ὁ ἔχων ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκούέτω) and further compares (following Peile) *Mark* 8.18 and *Matthew* 13.13. In this case the references given by some classical scholars are misleading. There can be no question of an immediate (or even

intermediate) dependence of the New Testament writers on Greek literature here, for the very good reason that the passages in the New Testament are directly inspired by the Old Testament, especially *Isaiah* 6.9-10 (Fraenkel, for example, seems unaware of this): ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ιδῆτε· ἐπαχύνθη γάρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ωσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἥκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἔκάψιμασαν, μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ωσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ λάσσουμαι αὐτούς. See also *Jeremiah* 5.21 and *Ezekiel* 12.2. In order to illustrate the danger of being too quick to see parallels to the New Testament in classical Greek literature I cite here a passage from the *Funeral Oration* (= *Epitaphios* 27-28) of the Attic orator Hyperides: ... ἀδελφαὶ γάμων τῶν προστριόντων ἐννόμως τετυχήκασι καὶ τεύξονται, παῖδες ἑρόδιον εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἴνοιαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀπολωλότων ἀρετήν, οὐ γάρ θεμιτὸν τούτου τοῦ δινόματος τυχεῖν τοὺς οὗτοις ὑπὲρ καλῶν τὸν βίον ἐκλιπόντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὸ ζῆν εἰς αἰώνιον τάξιν μετηλλαχότων ἔξουσιν. εἰ γάρ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅν ἀνιαρότατος θάνατος τούτοις ἀρχηγὸς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέγονε, πῶς τούτους οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς κρίνειν δίκαιον, η πῶς ἐκλελοπέναι τὸν βίον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι καλλίω γένεσιν τῆς πρώτης ὑπαρξάσης; τότε μὲν γάρ παῖδες δύτες ἄφροντες ἥσαν, νῦν δ' ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν.

On a first reading, the "Christian" tone of this passage is striking; one could adduce the frequent references to ζωὴ αἰώνιος in the New Testament, the allusions therein to spiritual παλιγγενεσία and so forth. The final sentence cannot but remind one of *First Corinthians* 13.11 (ὅτε ἡμὴν νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος· ὅτε γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου). The allusion to death as being most painful to others, but the ἀρχηγὸς of great good to these men might put one in mind of *First Corinthians* 16.22 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κάτερον; (compare *Hosea* 13.14). All this is, of course, illusory; anyone at all familiar with Greek modes of religious belief will recognize at once that these "parallels" are apparent only. There is not the slightest probability that anything in the New Testament has been influenced by these words of Hyperides.

We need not always be so skeptical. There are indeed New Testament passages which, while still not exact quotations from classical Greek literature, have every probability of going back, directly or indirectly, to specific classical writings. Some of these must now be examined. W. Nestle, in his paper "Anklänge an Euripides in der Apostelgeschichte" (*Philologus* 59.1900.46-57), argues cogently that the author of *Acts* was familiar with Eurip-

ides' tragedy, the *Bacchae*, and imitated it in several places. He offers *inter alia* the following pieces of evidence, which are carefully documented. The uncommon word θεομάχος which occurs at *Acts* 5.39 (μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε) may go back to Euripides, who uses the verb θεομαχεῖν three times in the *Bacchae* (verses 45, 325, 1255) and also in the *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (verse 1408 — if this verse is genuine). Nestle believes that the "Wortgruppe" θεομάχος / θεομαχεῖν is actually Euripides' own creation. E. R. Dodds, the most recent commentator on the *Bacchae*, notes at verse 45 "The author of *Acts* may have had echoes of the *Bacchae* in his head when he wrote εἰ δὲ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἔστιν, οὐδὲν θυνήσας καταλύσαι αὐτούς· μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε (5.39); he had probably read the play ..." Secondly, some of the details of Peter's deliverance from prison in *Acts* seem modelled on the liberation of the women in *Bacchae* 443-448. Dodds there comments "Memories of the present passage may have helped to shape the story of the miraculous freeing of Peter in *Acts* 12: with 447-8 [ἀντόματα δέ αὐτοῖς θεομάχη ποδῶν / κλῆδες τ' ἀνήκαν θύρετρ' ἀνευ θυητῆς χερός] cf. *Acts* 12.7 ἔξπεσον αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, and 10 (ἢ πύλη) αὐτομάτῃ ἡνοίχθη αὐτοῖς, also 16.26." Thirdly, Nestle calls attention to *Acts* 26.14: Σαῦλ Σαῦλ, τί με διώκεις; σκληρὸν δοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν (compare *Acts* 9.5 *Textus Receptus*). He notes that this is "die einzige Stelle im ganzen Neuen Testament, wo das Wort λακτίζειν vorkommt, das sich auch bei den LXX nie findet, während es in der griechischen Profanliteratur sehr häufig ist. Πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν ist ein griechisches Sprichwort ..." <sup>3</sup> In Greek literature this proverb survives in Pindar *Pythian* 2.94-95; *frag. iamb. adesp.* 13 Diehl; Aeschylus *Prometheus* 323, *Agamemnon* 1624 <sup>4</sup>; Euripides *frag.* 604 Nauck and *Bacchae* 795 (Θύοιμ' ἀν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τὴν θυμούμενος / πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζομεν θυητὸς ὁν θεῷ) <sup>5</sup>. I quote

<sup>3</sup> Nestle loc. cit., p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> I call attention to the curious fact that in two successive lines of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus there are apparent parallels to the New Testament: οὐχ ὅρας ὅρων τάδε; (verse 1623) / πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτίζε (verse 1624). The former of these, as we have seen, is coincidence; the latter is not the direct source of *Acts* 26.14, but does in fact share a common ancestor with *Acts*.

<sup>5</sup> The proverb may originally derive from an animal fable. A comparison of the context in which it occurs in Pindar with *frag. iamb. adesp.* 13 Diehl tends to favor this. So R. W. B. Burton in *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962), p. 133: "A celebrated phrase to express revolt occurs perhaps for the first time in literature in [Pythian 2] vv. 94 f., though there is a fragment assigned tentatively by Crusius to Solon [= *frag. iamb. adesp.* 13 Diehl]:

Dodds again on *Bacchae* 795 : "The author of *Acts* uses [the proverb πρὸς κέντρα λαστίζειν] (9.5 and 26.14) exactly as Eur. does, as a warning to the θεομάχος : he may in fact have borrowed it from the present passage ..." \* There is perhaps another echo of Euripides in *Acts* 10.35 : ... ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, τίς γάρ ἔστι ἀνθρώπων δε οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλειν νεωκόρον οὔσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦ; The exact meaning of τὸ διοπετές in this verse is a familiar controversy<sup>7</sup>; LSJ state that ἄγαλμα is to be understood with it. In view of his apparent familiarity with Euripides, it seems perfectly possible that the author of *Acts* has borrowed his phrase directly from the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, verses 977-978 :

Φοῖβός μ' ἐπειψε δεῦρο, διοπετές λαβεῖν  
ἄγαλμ' Ἀθηνῶν τ' ἔργαδιδρῦσαι χθονί.

Several Pauline passages reveal clear echoes of Plato's *Apology*:

εἰ τις δοκεῖ ἔργωκέναι τι, οὕπω ἔργω καθὼς δεῖ γνῶναι.  
*(First Corinthians 8.2)*

εἰ γάρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὅν, φρεναπατῷ ἔσυτόν.  
*(Galatians 6.3)*

With these compare the following:

οὗτος μὲν οἰεται τι εἰδέναι οὐκ εἰδώς, ἔγὼ δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἴδα, οὐδὲ οἴομαι.  
*(Apology 21 D)*

— ἐὰν δοκῶσι τι εἶναι μηδὲν δύτες ... οἰονται τι εἶναι δύτες οὐδενὸς ξένιοι ...  
*(Apology 41 E)*

Ἴππος δνφ· πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λαστίζετω,

'said the horse to the ass : let him not kick against the pricks.' *The form of this line suggests that the proverb came originally from a remark in a beast-fable, like so much else in this triad (my italics).'*

\* For a detailed study of the relation of *Acts* to Euripides' *Bacchae* see O. Weinreich 'Gebet und Wunder' in *Tübinger Beiträge z. Alt.* V (= *Genethliakon W. Schmid*), pp. 309-341. Weinreich concludes: "Wie man also die Dinge dreht und wendet, es bleibt bei dem vorgeschlagenen Lösungsversuch: der Verfasser der Apg. hat die Bakchen unmittelbar benutzt."

<sup>7</sup> See E. Svenberg in *Eranos* 46. 1948. 129-132.

What is the relation of these passages to one another? Plato's *Apology* had an early and constant fame, and there is no reason why Paul could not have read it, in school or out. On the other hand, these Socratic antitheses acquired an independent existence of their own and doubtless formed part of the intellectual inheritance of many who had never read the *Apology*. Despite this uncertainty, it seems to me that we can safely trace Paul's inspiration here, one way or another, ultimately back to Plato.

Euripides also can be shown to have contributed, ultimately, to Paul's thought. Thanks to the analyses of various scholars — most recently Bruno Snell in his Sather Lectures of 1963, "Scenes from Greek Drama"<sup>8</sup> — we have gained a clearer understanding of the significance of several Euripidean passages which seem to be the intellectual archetype for a famous section in Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, c. 7.15 ff.: δέ γάρ οὐ κατεργάζομαι οὐ γινώσκω· οὐ γάρ δέ θέλω τοῦτο πράσσω, ἀλλ' οὐ μισῶ τοῦτο ποιῶ... οὐ γάρ δέ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ δέ οὐ θέλω κακὸν τοῦτο πράσσω... The crucial passage is *Medea* 1077-1080 (*Medea* is speaking prior to proceeding to the murder of her own children);

... ἀλλὰ νοῶμαι κακοῖς.  
καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἴα δρᾶν μέλλω κοκά,  
Θυμός δὲ χρείσσων τῶν ἔμῶν βουλεύμάτων,  
διπέρ μεγίστων αἵτιος κακῶν βροτοῖς.

Of these verses Snell comments "The conflict, therefore, is a battle inside the heart of man. Passion, Θυμός, is stronger than the reasonable intentions (*βουλεύματα*). That is nothing new for us; but here it is making its first appearance (my italics)."<sup>9</sup> And again "This image of the inner battle to which Euripides' *Medea* gives full meaning for the first time by connecting it with a moral conflict ... is subsequently the model by which one orientates oneself when engaged in moral reflection. 'Selfcommand,' 'victory over self' — these are categories which have been handed down to us, chiefly by way of Socrates and of the Stoas."<sup>10</sup> Other relevant passages which Snell cites and discusses are the following:

<sup>8</sup> Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964. (This book is of course a continuation of some of Snell's earlier work; compare n. 11 *infra*).

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

τὰ χρήστ' ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γιγνώσκομεν,  
οὐκ ἐκπονοῦμεν δ', οἱ μὲν ἀργλας ὅπο,  
οἱ δὲ ἡδονὴ προθέντες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ  
βολῆγη τιν'·

(Euripides *Hippolytus* vv. 380-383)

πολλοί δὲ θυητῶν τοῦτο πάσχουντιν κακόν·  
γνώμη φρονοῦντες οὐ θέλουσ' ὑπηρετεῖν  
ψυχῇ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς φίλων νικώμενοι

(Euripides *frag.* 220 Nauck\*)

αἰαῖ, τόδ' ἡδη θείον ἀνθρώποις κακόν,  
ὅταν τις εἰδῇ τάγαθόν, χρῆται δὲ μή.

(Euripides *frag.* 841 Nauck\*)

οἰσθα οὖν δτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμοὶ<sup>ii</sup>  
τε καὶ σοὶ οὐ πείθονται, ὡλλὰ πολλούς φασι  
γιγνώσκοντας τὰ βέλτιστα οὐκ ἔθέλειν  
πράττειν, ἔξον αὐτοῖς, ὡλλὰ θλα πράττειν.

(Plato *Protagoras* 352 d) <sup>ii</sup>

προσερωπώμενος δὲ εἰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους μὲν  
ἴ δει πράττειν, ποιοῦντας δὲ τάνατία,  
σοφούς τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι νομίζοι κτλ.

(Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.9.4)

Although Snell does not quote it, perhaps the most familiar expression, in our Western cultural tradition, of this moral conflict is to be found in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, VII. 18-21 (Medea is the speaker):

si possem, sanior essem;  
sed trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,  
mens aliud suadet. video meliora proboque,  
deteriora sequor.

Less well-known is Horace's ... *quae nocuere sequar, Jugiam quae profore credam* (*Epist. 1.8.11*). (A "variation" of this same theme, though no one appears to have remarked it, is to be seen in a fragment of Menander, 489 Koerte: εὐηδία μοι φαίνεται, Φίλουμένη, / τὸ νοεῖν μὲν δοα δεῖ, μὴ φυλάττεσθαι δ' ἀ δεῖ. I need not remind the reader how much Menander owes to Euripides.)

<sup>ii</sup> It is Snell's thesis that Euripides engaged in a dispute with the historical Socrates, a dispute which he sees reflected in the Euripidean verses quoted here. See W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. III (Cambridge 1969), pp. 258-259 (with the notes).

It is not my intention to deny for an instant Saint Paul's profound originality as a theologian. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in this passage of *Romans* we can still detect, clothed in a new dress, traces of a motif which, so far as is now known, first appeared in Athens in the fifth century before Christ. This does not mean that Paul necessarily had read Euripides; by his day this problem had become a *tόπος*. In discussing the verses from the *Medea* cited above, Snell remarks "Later (p. 63 f.) we shall meet several other lines of Euripides which contain similar reflections. They were evidently systematically collected by the Stoic Chrysippus and later found their way into various anthologies and treatises (my italics). The lines from *Medea* are the earliest among them; this is also proof that Euripides had evidently not had such thoughts before *Medea*."<sup>12</sup>

Thus far we have been dealing with verbal echoes and thought recurrences. Another type of classical influence is that in which there is a purely formal structural correspondence. The most striking example of this has always seemed to me to be the formal parallelism between the early elegiac poet Tyrtaeus, *frag.* 9.1-11 and Paul's famous praise of ἀγάπη in *First Corinthians* 13.1-3, a parallelism to which Werner Jaeger called attention in 1932.<sup>13</sup> As Jaeger's paper is still not widely known to New Testament scholars, it may serve some purpose to reproduce the two passages here:

οὐτ' ἀν μητσαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ σύνδρα τιθείναι  
οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης,  
οὐδὲ εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθός τε βίην τε,  
νικών ■ θέων Θρήνουν Βορέην,  
οὐδὲ εἰ Τιθωνοῖ φυὴν χαριέστερος εἴη,                        5  
πλουστοῃ δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον,  
οὐδὲ εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη,  
γλωσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μειλιχόγηρυν ἔχοι,  
οὐδὲ εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν πλήν Θούριδος ἀλλής.  
οὐ γὰρ ἀντίρο ἀγαθός γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ,                10  
εἰ μὴ τετλαή μὲν ὅρων φύνον αἰματόντα  
καὶ δῆλων δρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ιστάμενος.

(Tyrtaeus)

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51, n. 4.

<sup>13</sup> "Tyrtaios Ueber Die Wahre APETH", *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 22, 1932. 567-568 = W. Jaeger, *Scripta Minoria* (Rome 1960) II. 112-114 = W. Jaeger, *Five Essays* (Montreal 1960) 141-142.

ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ὄγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡγῶν η̄ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.  
 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πρεφετεῖαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσσαν,  
 καν̄ ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μεθιστάναι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδέν εἰμι.  
 καν̄ φωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου καν̄ παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου,  
 ἵνα καυχήσομαι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδέν ωφελοῦμαι.

(St. Paul)

Here are some of Jaeger's observations:<sup>14</sup> "I should think it unlikely that anyone, in reading these magnificent lines, has ever thought of Tyrtaeus, so great is the distance that lies between his world and that of Paul. And yet ... the extraordinary similarity of form is striking ... Not only are individual words here similar, for example : καν̄ ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ... ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω compare this with οὐδὲ εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν πλὴν Θεορύδος ἀληκῆς, but there is the same sustained crescendo of the repeated 'even if,' and the same emphatic negation : οὐτ' ἀν̄ μοησαμένη οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἀνδρα πιθεῖν ; compare οὐδέν εἰμι, οὐδὲν ωφελοῦμαι ... While the Greek poets copied each other knowingly, it is best to assume that Paul produces a spontaneous rebirth of thought, which would explain the formal analogies. It is of course not improbable that Paul knew the Greek Anthology from school, where, in Paul's days as much as in classical times, the poets continued to be read. Another possibility is that the basic elements of the Greek prototype had, in a general way, entered into the popular philosophy of the Hellenistic age, and its sermons περὶ ὀρετῆς. From these Paul may have taken his model ... In any case it is significant that the rule of the noblest of the new values which Christianity added to the store of ancient wisdom was formulated in a fashion thoroughly congenial to the Greek way of thinking."

It is, I believe, possible to provide a close structural parallel from the immediate context and thereby provide further plausibility to Jaeger's thesis. In the preceding chapter of *I Corinthians*, verses 4-11 run as follows :

Διατρέσεις δὲ γχρισμάτων εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα - καὶ διατρέσεις διατκονιῶν εἰσίν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος - καὶ διατρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν. ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται η̄ φανέρωσις τοῦ

<sup>14</sup> I quote from the English translation in *Five Essays* (see the preceding note).

πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Φὶ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνῶστος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἐτέρῳ πλοτοῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ὅλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἵκμάτων ἐν τῷ ἐνι πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ ■ ἐνεργῆματα δυνάμεων, ὅλῳ [δὲ] προφητεία, ἄλλῳ δὲ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, ἐτέρῳ γένῃ, γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἔρμηνεις γλωσσῶν πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διαφοροῦντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.

The thought of this passage is concisely summarized by I Corinthians 7.7 : ... ἔκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, οὐ μὲν οὐτως, οὐ δὲ οὐτως ; see also Romans 12.5-8. For both the thought and the formal structure of I Corinthians 12.4-11 I do not know whether anyone has compared two passages from Homer, but the parallelism is remarkable :

ἄλλ' οὐ πῶς ἄμα πάντα δυνήσει αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι.  
ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ δῶκε θεὸς πολεμῆτα ἔργα,  
ἄλλῳ δὲ δρυγοτόν, ἐτέρῳ κίθαριν καὶ ἀοιδήν,  
ἄλλῳ δὲ τὸ στήθεσσι τίθει νάνον εύρυοπα Ζεὺς  
ἔσθλόν, τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἐπαυρίσκοντ' ἀνθρώποι,  
καὶ τε πολέας ἐσάνε, μάλιστα δὲ κανθάρος ἀνέγνω.  
*Iliad* 13.729 - 734

οὐτως οὐ πάντεσσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν  
ἀνθράστιν, οὔτε φύγην οὐτ' ἀρ φένας οὐτ' ἀγορητύν.  
ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνήρ,  
ἄλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπειτι στέφει, εἰ δέ τ' ἐξ αὐτῶν  
τερπόμενοι λεύσσουσιν· οὐ δ' ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύει  
αἴδοι μελιχίη, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν,  
ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ δότυ θεὸν ὃς εἰσορέωντο.  
ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλεγχιος ἀδανάτουσιν,  
ἄλλ' οὐ οἱ χάρις ἀμφιπεριστέφεται ἐπέεσσιν,  
ὣς καὶ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἀριπρεπές, οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως  
οὐδὲ θεὸς τεύξει, νόσον δὲ ἀποφώλιός ἐστι.

*Odyssey* 8.167-177

Here too we are no longer in ■ position to say anything definite about the precise relationship between the Greek poet and Paul, but some ultimate connection at least seems very possible. The presence of two such parallels in successive chapters may well point to the use of a *florilegium*. This suspicion of a Hellenic influence on Paul here becomes even stronger when we realize that in the very next verses in I Corinthians 12 (12 ff.) Paul makes use of ■ familiar Greek story, that of the body and its members ; for this see W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, p. 14.

Having concluded this brief survey of some of the freer categories of classical echoes, imitations, and allusions in the New Testament, I come now to the exact quotations, real and imaginary. Here the amount of widely-held misinformation is frankly astonishing. Let us examine first Saint Paul, *I Corinthians* 15.33 :

... μὴ πλανᾶσθε · « φθείρουσιν ἡθη χριστὸν ὄμολιαν κακαῖ. »

The words set within quotation marks form an iambic trimeter verse. (*χριστὸν* [for *χρῆσθ*'] is probably nothing but an instance of *scriptio plena*, such as was frequent at the time, and not necessarily a metrical solecism.)<sup>14</sup> It would serve no purpose to give precise references to the numerous editions and translations of the New Testament; suffice to say that in current texts it is often stated that this verse comes specifically from the *Thais* of Menander (*frag.* 187 Koerte — *frag.* 218 Kock). The facts are as follows. This verse, as one would expect, is alluded to a number of times by Christian writers<sup>15</sup>; no pagan writer quotes it (but — below). Of those Christian writers who cite the verse, Jerome and Photius attribute it to Menander (without mentioning the name of the play in which it occurred); Socrates the church historian ascribes it to Euripides. Other writers who refer to it do not give the name of *any* poet. Even so good a scholar as Werner Jaeger could write "... [Clement of Alexandria] likewise (*Strom.* I. 14, Stählin II, 37, 23 ff.) points out ... another Greek reminiscence in *I Corinthians* 15.33, taken from the most famous poet of the New Attic Comedy, Menander (*Thais* *frag.* 218)..."<sup>16</sup> Yet Clement, in the passage in question, not only makes no mention of either Menander or the *Thais* — he states explicitly that Paul "λαυβεῖ τὸ συγκέχρηται τραγικῷ"! In fact there is impressive evidence that the words originally occurred in some tragedy, by Euripides more likely than not. In 1906 Grenfell and Hunt published in the *Hibeh Papyri*, I. 7 the following fragment from a papyrus dated by the editors *circa* B. C. 250-210 :

ἔπειτα χρῆσθαι  
δοσοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἰδέναι  
εἰδὼς ὄθονες' οἴ  
φθείρουσιν ἡθ[η] χρῆσθ' ὄμολιαν κακαῖ

■ See, for example, Bless-Debrunner *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*<sup>17-18</sup>, translated and revised by Robert W. Funk (Chicago 1961), ¶ 17; also Benedict Einarson in my *Greek Textual Criticism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1969), p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> For exact references see Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Euripides *frag.* 1924 and Menander, *frag.* 187 Koerte.

These lines are sufficiently preserved to make it certain that they are iambic trimeters; that the fourth line was identical with Paul's verse and has accordingly been correctly restored is as certain as such things can be.<sup>12</sup> Grenfell and Hunt observe of the papyrus in which these four verses occur: "... a series of extracts such as are not uncommonly found in papyri of the Ptolemaic period ... Among them are (I.10-22) a passage of thirteen iambic lines from the *Electra* of Euripides and (II.91-4) an extract of four iambic lines, including the well-known verse, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' quoted by St. Paul. These are also probably Euripidean ..." ὄθονες' in line three of the papyrus fragment seems to have been a word proper to tragic diction.<sup>13</sup> A. D. Knox, discussing these verses in *The Classical Quarterly* (19, 1925, 164), observed significantly "It will be seen ... that the verses are written by a tragedian, presumably Euripides, who uses οὐδα ὄθονες, the latter word being unknown to Attic comedy (see Headlam on Herodas V. 20)." In the light of the above it would be perverse to deny that φειπούσιν ἡδη χρήστ' δηλίται κακά is a tragic verse.

<sup>12</sup> *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p. 112, n. 28. That other great Hellenist, Gilbert Murray, could be just as positive: "... [Menander] is constantly quoted by later authors, including of course [my italics] St. Paul: 'Evil communications corrupt good manners'." In a footnote he adds "I Cor. xv. 33, from Oed." Murray's words are to be found in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, Second Series, edited by J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber (Oxford, 1929) p. 9 with f. n. 1; they are repeated in his *Aristophanes* (Oxford 1933), p. 221. Even Wilamowitz, writing of Menander that "... der Dichter so treffende kurze Wendungen gefunden hat, dass sie im Gedächtnis hafteten und fliegende Worte wurden" (Menander, *Das Schiedsgericht*, p. 151), goes on to cite, ohne weiteres, this adage as a typical example. Best of all, perhaps, is the statement of the Latinist J. Wight Duff in his *Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*, p. 123, n. 1: he quotes the saying with the comment "It is a Fragment of Menander's brilliant [my italics] *Thais*." Reflect that Duff's confident judgement of the *Thais* as "brilliant" — which it probably was — is a pronouncement about a play "von der auffälligerweise so wenig Bruchstücke übrig sind", as Wilamowitz correctly observed (*op. cit.*, p. 142).

<sup>13</sup> No one to my knowledge has questioned this restoration. The verses are printed most recently by B. Snell in his *Supplementum to Nauck's Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* as *frag.* 1024 of Euripides. In the *Index Pontium* to the *Supplementum*, s. v. P. Hibeh I 7, Snell lists this fragment as a *fragmentum adespotum* (compare his remarks in the *Praefatio ad Supplementa*, p. 1).

<sup>14</sup> LSJ s. v. ὄθονες cites nine examples, all from tragedy; compare also LSJ Supplement s. v. ἀεινεκεν. None of the examples in LSJ are from Euripides; ὄθονες in fact is common in Euripides (*Alcestis* 796; *Helena* 104, 591; *Ion* 662; *frag.* 326, 862).

When one adds to this evidence a) the general consideration that papyri prove Euripides to have been the most widely read Greek poet after Homer in antiquity<sup>20</sup> and b) the specific testimony of Socrates that Euripides wrote this verse (testimony which, as will appear, is not likely to be a *lapsus memoriae*), then one cannot escape the conclusion that Euripides is quite probably the author of the trimeter.

Curiously enough, it in no way follows from what has been said that Jerome and Photius are in error when they attribute φθείρουσιν κακάι to Menander. This great comic poet was much influenced by Euripides and is known to have incorporated verbatim quotations from tragedies into his own comedies. Thus, in the *Aspis* of Menander, verses 407, 424-425, 425-426, 432 (Austin) are citations from Euripides; so too in the *Epitrepones* of Menander, verse 765 (Koerte) ή φύσις ἐβούλετο ή νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει — Euripides, *frag.* 920 Nauck. This last example is especially relevant to the present question. The verse was a famous one in antiquity and was often cited. (The comic poet Anaxandrides parodies it, *frag.* 67 (Kock) : ή πόλις ἐβούλετο, ή νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει.) Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 4.54, names Euripides as the author. A scholiast to Gregory of Nazianzus (*ed.* Piccol. *Estratti ined. dai cod. gr. della bibl. Mediceo-Laur.* p. 21) wrote : ήσ, φύσις, οὐδὲν βιαιότερον. καὶ παρὰ τῇ νέᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ " ή φύσις ἐβούλετο, ή νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει." This comment of the scholiast, we now know, refers to Menander, *Epitrepones* verse 765; Nauck, writing before considerable portions of this play of Menander's had been recovered on papyri, printed at Euripides *frag.* 920 the scholiast's remark with the observation "de auctore versus errat Schol...". The verse occurred in both Euripides and Menander, and so it appears that Nauck, not the scholiast, erred. It is quite possible — and indeed probable — that φθείρουσιν ήγη χρήσιδ' δμιλία: κακάι is a similar case. Thus Kock at *frag.* 218 of his edition of Menander (= *frag.* 187 Koerte) wrote "mutuatum est ut solebat versum Menander ab Euripide"; Koerte commented "versum Euripiди deberi, а Menandro in Thaidem trans-

<sup>20</sup> See, *ex. gr.*, E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton 1968), p. 97. C. A. Trypanis, in the Oxford Classical Dictionary<sup>21</sup> in v. *Callimachus* (p. 195), observes "... the great number of Callimachean papyri — even greater than those of Euripides ..." But Callimachus was surely not more widely read than Euripides, and even if he were, it would not affect at all our argument — which is that Euripides was the most widely read tragedian. Furthermore, it is not at all clear to me that Trypanis' statement is correct. See W. H. Willis in *GRBS* 9, 1968, 212; his figures are 75 papyri for Euripides and 50 for Callimachus.

*latum esse paene certum est.*" (Compare also Koerte's comments at *frag.* 749.) In fact, Photius, in a passage, the significance of which does not seem to have been properly recognized, still preserves traces of a tradition deriving this verse from a "double" source : ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ (γνώμας δὲ αὐτὸς ἀναγράφεται ἀρχῖσιν τινῶν) μέμνηται [sc. ὁ Παῦλος], λέγων αὐτῶς : φθείρουσιν ἡθη χρηστὰ δημιλαι κακοί" (*PG* 101,813C). (For a clear example of double attribution, compare the remarks of the Byzantine commentator Michael of Ephesus, who quotes the well-known verse ἐν ■ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλόβεται πᾶς ἀρετή ἔστιν and observes ἡ δὲ παροργία Θεόγνιδος ἔστιν [*v.* 147], ὡς Θεόφραστός φησιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἡθῶν ..., ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἡθικῶν ὡς Φωκυλίδου [*frag.* 10] αὐτοῦ μέμνηται : καὶ αὐδέν θαυμαστὸν καὶ Φωκυλίδην αὐτῷ καὶ Θέογνιν χρήσασθαι [*Comm. ad Arist. Eth. Nic.* 5,2 *p.* 1129b, 27, *p.* 8 Hayduck]. In this case the solution is by no means so clear as with ■ double attribution to Euripides and Menander.)

We may, therefore, accept the statement that this verse appeared in Menander, provided we understand that Menander himself borrowed it from some tragedian, most probably Euripides. But we have seen that editors of the New Testament and of Menander go further : They assure us that the verse occurred specifically in the (lost) comedy *Thais*. What is the evidence for this assertion ? It is this. The great sixteenth-century printer and scholar Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) recorded that he found in the margin of a single New Testament manuscript ("ex vetustis exemplaribus") a comment at I Corinthians 15.33 : Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ γνώμη, ἐν Θαΐᾳ.<sup>21</sup> Stephanus conjectured that Θαΐᾳ was a corruption of Θαῖδι. I will not say that Stephanus' conjecture Θαῖδι is not correct, for it may be so. Nor will I say that this piece of information in the margin of one lost manuscript is false, for the verse in question may in fact have appeared in Menander's *Thais*. However, I will say that if any extant writer who alludes to this verse was in possession of that information, he has not told us so.<sup>22</sup> I will also say that whether φθείρουσιν ἡθη χρήσθ' δημιλαι κακοί

<sup>21</sup> *Com. Gr.*, p. 351. I have not ■ this work and owe my knowledge of it to Koerte's edition of Menander, *frag.* 187. P. H. Ling in *The Classical Quarterly* 19, 1925, 22 adds : "A MS used by Robert Estienne in the sixteenth century, and vaguely referred to by his son, Henri Estienne, seems to have had ■ marginal note, Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ γνώμη, ἐν Θαΐᾳ (sic)."

<sup>22</sup> It may be objected that the scholar or copyist, who wrote ἐν Θαΐᾳ in the margin of a manuscript (assuming that such is the correct restoration of ἐν Θαΐᾳ) must have had access to some information now lost to us.

occurred in Euripides or Menander or both, it is quite possible that St. Paul did not know even this much, let alone the name of the particular play(s). For there is some evidence that by Paul's time the verse had become a proverbial commonplace, and he may have been quite unaware of the source. In our times the English-speaking peoples often dispense old wine from Shakespeare and the Bible without knowing either the vintner or the vintage. In the first century before Christ this verse was well enough known that Diodorus Siculus could silently borrow it for his history : [Φλιππος] ταῖς πονηραῖς δμῆταις δέοφθεψε τὰ ἡδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων (16.54) ; compare also Diodorus 12.12 : ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ Χαρώνδας καὶ περὶ τῆς κακομιλίας νόμου ... ὑπολαβάν γέρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνίστε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς φύλακας καὶ συνήθεων διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ ἡδη πρὸς κακάν — See further the verses, famous in antiquity, from Euripides *Phoenix* (*frag.* 812. 7-9 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) :

ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἡδεται κακοῖς ἀνήρ,  
οὐ πάποτ' ἡρώτησα, γιγνώσκων δι  
τοιοῦτος ἔστιν οἰστερ ἡδεται ξυνάν.

(With these compare especially Euripides, *frag.* 609N<sup>2</sup>.) Apparently Menander did not refrain from borrowing these verses also — or rather the first words (presumably enough for his audience to

Otherwise this marginal comment would be without motivation and inexplicable. A little reflection exposes the speciousness of this reasoning. We do not know the context in which φθείρουσσε ἡδη χρήσεθ' ὁμιλία κακοῦ occurred ; one legitimate and natural interpretation of the words is "Consorting with immoral women corrupts good morals." (Recall that ὁμιλία, besides its other meanings, was normal Greek for sexual intercourse.) Suppose that our learned (Christian!) copyist so understood the words. The *Thais* was one of Menander's most famous comedies and this piece of information continued to be accessible long after the play itself was lost. (For its fame, both in the Greek and Latin traditions, see Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* III, pp. 60-61). There was furthermore an historical personage named Thais ; she was perhaps the most famous of all Greek courtesans — a fact which was common knowledge quite independently of Menander's play. A glance at all the known titles of Menander's comedies — including those titles not likely to be familiar in medieval times (in contrast, that is, to the *Thais*) — will not reveal a single title more appropriate *prima facie* than *Thais* — the name of a play in which such a sentiment might be expected to occur. The sequence is this : 1) Menander warned against corrupting oneself by associating with immoral women ; 2) Menander wrote a *Thais* ; 3) the historical Thais was the "painted woman" *par excellence*. The conclusion to be drawn was there for the taking. Such an inference is of course quite unjustified, but anyone who thinks that someone in late antiquity or the Middle Ages was not fully capable of making it does not know how these "scholiasts" practiced their craft.

recognize the source : a clear indication of how familiar the passage was<sup>22</sup>). See J. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca Oxoniensia* IV. 144. 31 : "δότις δ' ὅμιλῶν ἥδεται," τοῦτο τοῦ Θεόγυπτος and *ib.* 145. I τοῦ Τέττου. Μενάνδρου τοῦτο πέρουσεν ἐκ δράματος Ηλοχίου [= *frag.* 344 Koerte], οὐ Θεόγυπτος. I should like to suggest that the false attribution to Theognis may go back to a confusion in a *florilegium* which contained these verses and also one or more passages from the Theognidean *corpus* which show similar sentiments ; see Theognis 31-38, 113-114, 1169. However that may be, the Theognis references are clear evidence that this piece of proverbial wisdom is older than Menander — and than Euripides as well. For further proof see Hesiod, *Erga* 716 and Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas* 599-600. (On Democritus, *frag.* 184 D-K φύλων ὅμιλη συνεχής ἔξιν κακήνσ συναύξει see W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* II. 491.)

When, therefore, an editor of the New Testament restricts himself at 1 Corinthians 15. 33 to the too specific annotation "Menander *Thais frag.* 187", his annotation is possibly a positive error ; it is certainly misleading. *It would continue to be misleading, even were we to acquire new evidence proving conclusively that the line occurred in Menander's Thais.*

I consider next Titus 1. 12 :

πέτεν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, ίδιος αὐτῶν προφήτη,  
«Κρῆτες δὲ φεῦσται, κακὰ Θηρία, γαυτέρες ἀργαλ.»

The little that is certain about this verse can be briefly stated : The words Κρῆτες δὲ φεῦατ are a dactylic hexameter ; they seem to have been modelled on Hesiod *Theogony* 26 (compare also *Iliad* 24. 260-261). This hexameter must have been well-known in antiquity, since the words Κρῆτες δὲ φεῦσται are incorporated by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Zeus*, verse 8, and are alluded to also in a poem in the *Anthologia Palatina* (7. 275. 5-6).<sup>23</sup> Apparently the words were attributed to Epimenides the Cretan in antiquity ; at least Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* I. 59 = II. 37, 21 Stählin)

■ It is commonplace for familiar quotations to become proverbial in an abridged form. Compare the English "A word to the wise ..." = *verbum sapienti sat.* In Greek ■ good example is *Odysssey* 21. 295-6 :

οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρος, ἄγνοοντες Ήπειρονα,  
δεῖτο δὲ μεγίστῳ μητρότητος Ήπειρθόνα.

The opening words οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρος became proverbial ; they re-appear in two extant epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina*, II.1 (Nicarehus) and II.12 (Alcaeus). See further Gow-Poag, *Hellenistic Epigrams* II. p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> See my *Greek Textual Criticism*, p. 53.

so ascribes them. For further references the reader should consult H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*\* I. 31-32, where this verse is printed as fragment 1 of Epimenides. Epimenides himself is a very shadowy, half-legendary figure; he appears in the Greek tradition — a religious prophet and wonder-worker who lived to a miraculous age (sometime between the seventh and fifth centuries before Christ) and was able to wander about outside his body.<sup>21</sup> Jerome and Socrates state that this verse comes from the *Oracles* (Χρησμοί) of Epimenides; this is often repeated in editions of the New Testament and may be correct — provided we keep in mind that none of the fragments of "Epimenides" which have survived can be securely assigned to a definite historical personage of that name. We are dealing with a semi-apocryphal figure. (Thus to distinguish, as is done in some editions of the New Testament, between "Epimenides", the author of the hexameter preserved in *Titus* 1. 12, and "Pseudo-Epimenides", the author of the supposed verse *ἐν στρῷ γάρ ζῶμεν καὶ κυ-  
όμενα καὶ ζούσι* in *Acts* 17. 28 is an idle business.)

In the midst of such uncertainty it is best to let the specialists speak for themselves. Otto Kern (see note 24) gives the following judgment: "Dem historischen E. gehört nur die Theogonie ... Mit Recht vermutet Diels, dass der berühmte u. a. bei Paulus ad Tit. I 12 citierte Vers: Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία,  
γαστέρες ἀογαλ αus dem Prooimion der Theogonie des E. stammt. Paulus führt ihn auf einen ίδιος προφήτης der Kreter zurück. Es verschlägt nichts, wenn Hieron. comm. in ep. ad Tit. VII 606 Migno den Vers aus den *Oracula* des E. *Cretensis* (= χρησμοί) anführt ..." With this compare Kranz in the ninth edition of *Vorschr.* (see above): "Die erhaltenen Fragmente des Epimonides scheinen sich auf zwei oder drei Verfasser zu verteilen: 1) Θεογονία aus dem Kreise des Onomakritos, Ende des 6. Jahrh. verfasst, nach dem Inhalte auch Χρησμοί genannt; 2) Κρητικά, nach E. Neustadt de *Iore Cretico* (Berl. 1906) Prosawerk, zwischen Megasthenes und Arat verfasst (doch vgl. Pohlens N. Jahrb. 32, 1916, I 570\*), kretische Lokalgeschichte, zweifelhaft 3) Καθαροί in Prosa ... oder in Hexametern?" In other words: there is no agreement among specialists a) whether the verse goes back to the historical

\* For further particulars and references see O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s. v. *Epimenides* 2. There are some useful remarks about Epimenides by E. Rohde in his great work *Psyche* pp. 300-304 (English tr. 1925) with ff. nn. 114-124 (especially f. n. 120 arguing that behind all the fabulous material there was in fact an historical figure Epimenides).

Epimenides or to an anonymous forger and b) whether the poem in which it occurred, whoever the author, was called Θεογονία or Χρηστός or both. On the other hand, it seems clear that the author of the *epistle to Titus* believed that he was quoting Epimenides; the reference to an ιδεας προφήτης of the Cretans shows that.

What kind of reference should be given at *Titus* 1.12? A classical scholar would note in the *apparatus criticus* simply "Epimenides, *frag. 1* Diels-Kranz" and this is best. A typical annotation in current editions of the New Testament is the following: "Epimenides, *de Oraculis*". After the account which I have given above, this will doubtless appear to some as too specific and therefore misleading (as well as impractical — a diligent scriptural student would look long and in vain for a copy of Epimenides' *De Oraculis*!). This is a minor criticism; consider however the following comment from the Westminster Version of the New Testament at *Titus* 1.12: "The extract is from the *Minos* of the early Cretan poet Epimenides. The context, as now established (cf. Dr. Rendel Harris' Introduction to the *Commentaries of Isho'dad* Vol. V Part II, p. xiv) is this: 'the Cretans — liars' because they say that Zeus (the Greek Jupiter) was killed, and show his tomb; 'but thou ever livest', cries the poet to Zeus, for in thee we live and move and have our being'. This last line is quoted in *Acts* xvii. 28, where it is followed by yet another quotation, this time from the Cilician Stoic Aratus. Those lines from the *Minos* form a valuable link between the Apostle's discourses and writings ..." Diels-Kranz state simply and correctly "Die kühnen Schlüsse von J. Rendel Harris ... sind abzulehnen." There are no grounds whatsoever for attributing the hexameter in *Titus* 1.12 to the "Minos" of Epimenides. The Syriac commentary on *Acts* of Isho'dad (ninth century A.D.), on which Dr. Rendel Harris based his reconstruction, makes no mention either of Epimenides or of a poem entitled *Minos*; here is what Isho'dad does say (in Rendel Harris' translation): "... so, therefore, Minos, son of Zeus, made a panegyric — behalf of his father, (sic!) and he said in it, The Cretans made a tomb for thee, O Holy and Loft! liars! evil beasts and slow bellies; for thou art not dead for ever; thou art alive and risen; for in thee we live, and are moved and have our being; so therefore the blessed Paul took this sentence from Minos; for he took again, We are the offspring of God, from Aratus a poet ..." This passage does seem to connect *Acts* 17.28 and *Titus* 1.12 as containing verses from the same passage of

some poem; unfortunately, a little analysis reveals that we are dealing with a garbled piece of learning valueless as evidence. For it is clear, even in translation, that this "panegyric of Minos, son of Zeus" in fact derives partly from Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, verses 8-9:

'Κρῆτες ἀεὶ φεῦσται' · καὶ γὰρ τάφοι, ὡς ἔνα, σεῖο  
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο · σὺ δὲ οὐ θάνες, ἕστι γὰρ αἰτι.

This is not mere conjecture; evidence is still extant which proves that exegetical tradition had brought Callimachus into this context. For example, Theodore of Cyrus' commentary on *Titus* 1.12 (PG 82. 861 B) is as follows: "εἰπε τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, ίδιας αὐτῶν προφήτης · Κρῆτες ἀεὶ φεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γυναῖκες ἀργαῖ, ἡ μαρτυρία αὗτη ἔστιν ἀληθής." οὐ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων προφήτης Καλλίμαχος ἦν (αὗτοῦ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Ἐπους ἀρχὴ), ἀλλ' Ἐλλήνων ἦν ποιητής, ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν ποιητής διὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον τοὺς Κρῆτας ὀνόμασε φεύστας. For other references see Pfeiffer's edition of Callimachus. (There are further indications of confused classical learning in this same chapter of Isohodad: "The Interpreter [i. e. Theodore of Mopsuestia] says, that the Athenians were once upon a time at war with their enemies, and the enemies retreated from them in defeat; then a certain Daemon appeared and said unto them I have never been honoured by you as I ought; and because I am angry with you, therefore you have a defeat from your enemies. Then the Athenians were afraid, and raised to him the well-known altar ..." It seems to have gone unnoticed that this story ultimately goes back to the account of Pan's appearance to Philippides in Herodotus 6.105).

This discussion has taken us to *Acts* 17.28 and that passage must now be examined:

Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν,  
ώς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν,  
τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

This verse has been the object of an inordinate amount of bad annotation. There is no need to rehearse it all here; I cite as an extreme example the note in the Anchor Bible: "The words 'For by him we live, move and exist' are a modification of the fourth line of a quatrain ascribed to Epimenides by Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of Philosophers* i. 112). The quatrain's second line is quoted by Paul in Tit i 12." Suffice to say that one will look in vain in Diogenes Laertius 1.112 for any trace of a single line,

modified or no, of any quatrain ascribed to anybody. (Whether this thoroughly garbled note ultimately goes back to the already garbled statement of Dr. Rendel Harris, *loc. cit.* I shall not attempt to decide : "... I ventured the suggestion that the whole of the quoted matter came from the *Minos* of Epimenides, seeing that Diogenes Laertius wrote a poem of a thousand verses under this title ..." What was intended, of course, was "... Diogenes Laertius [records that Epimenides] wrote a poem of a thousand verses" *vel. sim.*, and the omission may be merely a typographical error. Nevertheless, even the figure "a thousand verses" is false ; here are Diogenes' words : οὐέγραψε δὲ [sc. Ἐπιμενίδης] καὶ καταλογάδην περὶ Μίνων καὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ πολιτείας καὶ περὶ Ραδαμάνθυος εἰς ἔστη τετρακοσία. Note that it is not clear from Diogenes' Greek — περὶ Μίνων καὶ Ραδαμάνθυος — whether one poem ("Minos and Rhadamanthys") or two are intended. *Apart from this ambiguous statement in Diogenes Laertius, there is no extant reference to a poem by Epimenides entitled 'Minos'.*)

Behind all the confusion surrounding this verse there is a very real problem and it is this : How many quotations is the author of *Acts* here citing ? In particular, a) is ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῷμεν καὶ κινούμενα καὶ ἔστεν a poetic quotation and b) is τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔστεν from Aratus or Cleanthes or both ? The plural expression ὁς καὶ τινες τῶν καὶ ὄμοις ποιητῶν εἰρήκασσι clearly has a bearing on the problem and must be taken into account. The answer to the first question is negative : To the best of our knowledge, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῷμεν καὶ κινούμενα καὶ ἔστεν, while undeniably a splendid and sublime phrase, is not poetry ; presumably it is the author of *Acts*' own creation. (This is not to deny that he may have had a model, perhaps a very close one, for it. If so, it has not survived.) To begin with, there is no discernible meter. (This is significant for the origin of the tradition preserved in 'Isho'dad, which connects Κρήτες-ἄργαι and ἐν αὐτῷ-ἔστεν as parts of the same poem. Whoever first proposed this interpretation no longer understood Greek metrics, not even the dactylic hexameter. This points to the time when the pronunciation of Greek had changed so much that vowel quantities were no longer clearly distinguishable. This change — complete by about A. D. 400. See Paul Maas, *Greek Metre*, paragraph 19. This metrical ignorance also points to a circle which had a minimum of first-hand classical learning (in contrast to handbook knowledge). In other words, this tradition, by its very content, condemns itself as late and worthless.

It is obvious how the words in *Acts* 17.28 could appear to someone ignorant of metrics as a hexameter:

ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῷομεν || καὶ κινούμεθα | καὶ ἐσμέν

There is no need to list the metrical solecisms in this "verse"; they would have been obvious to any Greek who had been to school even well after the "classical" period. It is not without significance that that good Hellenist, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1,19 — II 59,1 ff. Stählin), shows no knowledge of this theory.) Secondly, the language could not have occurred in a poem (or elsewhere) prior to some considerable philosophical development. For the language is that of Greek philosophy; both *ἐν αὐτῷ*, used of the Deity in connection with these verbs, and *κινούμεθα*, in this context, smack of philosophical usage. (Expressions such as Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* v. 314 *ἐν σοι γὰρ ἐσμέν* and Euripides, *Alcestis* v. 278 *ἐν σοι δ' ἐσμέν καὶ Ζῆν καὶ μή*, are not at all parallel, first appearances to the contrary. In these cases *ἐν σοι ἐσμέν* means simply "we are in your power", *penes te sumus*; this idiom is quite distinct from the "pantheistic" usage *ἐν αὐτῷ... ἐσμέν* of *Acts*. Compare rather Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4,38 θεῶν γὰρ χωρὶς οὐδὲ *ἐν Θλώ ἐσμέν*.) Linguistic factors, therefore, exclude an early epic poem, such as "Epimenides' *Minoas*", from consideration. (I am aware that this is a subjective judgment; usage will, I believe, bear me out.) The thought contained in this sentence is often described as Stoic. I long ago had noted as the closest linguistic parallel for this expression in *Acts* the following locution from Arius Didymus' *Epitome* 28 (= H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* p. 461, 23-25): *ὅ δὲ Χρύσιππος χρόνον εἶναι κινήστως διάστημα ... καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν χρόνον κινεῖσθαι τε ἐκκατά καὶ εἶναι*. It was therefore with no little pleasure that I found in Eduard Norden's celebrated study *Agnostos Theos* this same passage compared with *Acts* 17.28. His words deserve to be quoted: "Die Begriffe 'Bewegung' und 'Sein' sind verbunden bei Chrysippus [there follow the Greek words given above], eine Verbindung, die H. Diels ■ charakteristisch erschien, dass er sie im Index der Doxographi eigens verzeichnete. Wenn wir endlich noch die bekannten stoischen Etymologien erwägen: Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσι δεδωκένται τὸ Ζῆν (Chrysippus bei Stob. eel. I 31, 12W.), καλοῦμεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ζῆνα καὶ Δία ..., ὃς ἂν εἰ λέγοιτε δι' ὃν ζῷομεν (Ps. Aristot. de mundo c. 7 401 n 13), wo also die Übereinstimmung mit der Stelle der Acta sich bis auf die Verbalform selbst erstreckt, so werden wir in ζῷομεν, κινούμεθα, ἐσμέν stoische Begriffe zu erkennen haben, die aber vielleicht erst der Verf. der Acta zu

einer formelhaften, feierlich klingenden Trias verbunden hat."<sup>25</sup> There is, in sum, no evidence for regarding ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῷας καὶ κινούμενα καὶ ἔσπεν as a poetical quotation.

By contrast, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσπεν is certainly a citation from poetry. It is the opening of verse five of the Φαινόμενα, a still extant astronomical poem written by Aratus of Soli (in Cilicia) in the third century before Christ.<sup>26</sup> The only difference is that the author of *Acts* has "trivialized" the dialect form (epic and Ionic) εἶπεν which Aratus wrote, to the more usual ἔσπεν. Commentators have long noted the strong similarity to verse four of Cleanthes' famous *Hymn to Zeus*<sup>27</sup>:

4. ἐξ αοῦ γὰρ γένος ἔσπεν, ὁ οὐκονία λαζόντες  
μοῦνοι, δσα ζώει τε καὶ ἔρτει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν·

(The latter part of verse four is unfortunately corrupt and no solution to date has found general acceptance. For a useful survey of conjectures hitherto proposed, see M. Marcovich in *Hermes* 94, 1966, 245-250 (and compare K. Gaiser in *Hermes* 96, 1968, 243-247). I have discussed these verses and the theology behind them in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68, 1964, 382-386, to which the reader is referred.) The reason for the similarity is easily explained: Aratus and Cleanthes were contemporaries, both of whom studied Stoicism in Athens; Cleanthes certainly, Aratus possibly, studied directly under Zeno, the founder of Stoicism. The similarities are due to a common source or to a direct borrowing, one from the other. However, similarity is not identity, and it is simply incorrect to state, as commentators often do, that the author of *Acts* is quoting Cleanthes here. The plain fact is that the words τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσπεν belong to Aratus and to no one else.

This brings us to the plural τινες in *Acts* 17.28; this is the real culprit which has caused many (consciously or unconsciously) to seek more than one quotation here, and which must now be explained. It will be well to distinguish clearly two separate

<sup>25</sup> Eduard Norden *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig-Berlin 1923), p. 22. See in this important work especially pp. 19-24.

<sup>26</sup> For what we know of Aratus see Wilamowitz's *Hellenistische Dichtung* II, 274-276.

<sup>27</sup> The hymn is printed in L. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* vol. I, pp. 121-123 and J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 227-228. It has been preserved for us by Stobaeus, *Ecl.* I, 1.12.

confusions for which τινες has been responsible : a) the desire to take both ἐν αὐτῷ — ἐσμέν and τοῦ γὰρ — ἐσμέν as poetic quotations and b) the tendency to regard τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν as some sort of conflation of Aratus and Cleanthes. Thus the Westminster Version of the New Testament annotates at *Acts* 17.28 : "... 'some' in the plural, because Cleanthes and probably others had expressed the same idea as Aratus." I myself was guilty of a similar error (which I now retract) when I wrote in the paper on Cleanthes referred to above "The commentators have correctly understood that τινες is used because the sacred writer is thinking not only of Aratus' verse, but also of Cleanthes'." The facts are as follows. In English one may introduce loosely a familiar *single and specific* poetic quotation by some such general phrase as "As the poets say ..." Greek had the same idiom and ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὅμιλος ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν in *Acts* 17.28 is an example of this idiom. Here are some other examples :

- 1) Lycurgus contra Leocratem c. 92 καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τῶν ἀρχαίων τινες ποιητῶν διάπερ χρησμοδός γράψαντες τοῖς ἐπεγιγνομένοις τάδε τὰ λαμβεῖσα καταδιπτεῖν. There follow four iambic trimeters from a lost Greek tragedy (= frag. adespolon 296 Nauck).
- 2) Lycurgus contra Leocratem c. 132 οἵτε καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες εἰρήκαστιν. There follow two iambic trimeters from a lost Greek tragedy (= frag. adespolon 297 Nauck).
- 3) Aristotle *Politica* 7. 16 (p. 1335b 32-34) κατη δ' ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς πλειστοῖς ἡπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες εἰρήκασιν οἱ μετροῦντες ταῦτα ἐβδομάσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, περὶ τῶν χρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα ἔτῶν. It is generally believed that Aristotle here has in mind specifically Solon, frag. 19 Diehl, the familiar elegy on the "ages of man". (See especially verse 13.)
- 4) [Aristotle] *Magna Moralia* 2. 15 init. (p. 1212b, 27ff.) λέγουσι γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ποιηταί · "οἷαν δ' οἱ δαίμονες εῦ διδῷ, τί δεῖ φύλων ;" The quotation is verse 667 of Euripides' *Orestes*.
- 5) Simplicius in Aristot. *Phys.* ausc. sol. 73b καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν δὲ ένιοι πάντα σχεδὸν εἰς τὴν τύχην <ἀν>άγονται, ὥστε καὶ τῆς τέχνης οὐεἰσαν αὐτήν ποιεῖν λέγοντες "τέχνη τύχην ἔστερξε καὶ τύχη, τέχνην" (= Agathon frag. 6 Nauck). "τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα" δὲ "καὶ φρονεῖν" φασι (= Euripides frag. 1017 Nauck). Note that this passage contains two examples of the idiom.

These examples prove conclusively that τινες τῶν ποιητῶν and similar expressions can introduce a single quotation.<sup>28</sup> It should be noted

<sup>28</sup> While a student at Harvard I once asked, in private conversation,

that the examples range from the classical period (the Attic orator Lycurgus, Aristotle) to the sixth century A. D. (the Aristotelian commentator Simplicius); that is to say, we are dealing with a *modus loquendi* which remained normal Greek for centuries. It is found long before *Acts* and remained in use long after it. That the author of *Acts* was familiar with Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* is perfectly possible; I am prepared to say that it may even be probable. The fact remains that there is not a shred of evidence in the language of *Acts* 17.28 which suggests positively that the author of that verse had Cleanthes in mind when he wrote it. That will remain forever undemonstrable.

This study has thus far permitted us to verify three classical quotations in *1 Corinthians* 15.33, *Titus* 1.12 and *Acts* 17.28 respectively; at the same time we have been able to dismiss two imaginary quotations ("Epimenides", Cleanthes) from *Acts* 17.28. All these passages, if not always properly understood, have long been recognized. One final question must now occupy us: Are there likely to be any other exact quotations from classical literature in the New Testament not hitherto recognized? Numerous attempts have been made to discover such quotations; in general I would agree with the following assessment: "The search for verse and fragments of verses (apart from quotations: A 17:28, 1C 15:33, T 1:12), i. e. for rhythm, is a needless waste of time and those that are found are of such quality that they are better left unmentioned..."<sup>22</sup> To take one example, *Philippians* 3.1: τὰ αὐτὰ γράφει, ὅμην ἐποι μὲν οὐκ διηγέρων, ὅμην δὲ ἀσφαλές. It has been thought by some that the words ἐποι μὲν — ἀσφαλές, which form an iambic trimeter, (understanding, of course, δὲ ἀσφαλές) are from some comic writer, possibly Menander. See J. Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 89, 167 and H. J. Rose in *The Classical Quarterly* 19, 1925, 92-93. (For the language one might have compared a trimeter in Sophocles (*Oedipus Rex* v. 834) which begins with ἤμην μὲν, δναῖς, ταῦτ' δινήρ'). It is not possible to refute absolutely suggestions such as this one (where the words in ques-

the late Arthur Darby Nock, that θεωρός of learning, about ταῦτα in *Acts* 17.28. He assured me that the plural could introduce a single quotation and added that he had some examples of this noted down somewhere in his Harvard rooms. I own that at the time I was skeptical and never learned what his examples were. The examples which I adduce in the present paper demonstrate that in this, as in so much else, Nock was right.

<sup>22</sup> Blass-Debrunner *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*<sup>23-24</sup>, translated and revised by Robert W. Funk (Chicago 1961), § 487 (q. u. for the modern literature).

tion are undeniably = trimeter) ; one can only point out the weaknesses inherent in such attempts. In the first place, the contrast between *οὐκ ἔχετε* and *ἀσφαλές* is hardly the most natural one ; to me at least it smacks more of Saint Paul's style than of the New Comedy of Menander. In the second place, the word-order is quite natural (i. e. "non-poetic") : pronoun + *μὲν* + predicate adjective followed by corresponding pronoun + *δέ* + corresponding predicate adjective. Cannot the iambic meter be due to chance ? The answer is that it can, very easily indeed. The late Professor Rose himself, writing in a different context, stated the situation quite lucidly, and I hope that I shall not seem unkind if I quote him against himself : "Greek, as Aristotle observes and as extant Greek prose amply proves, had = tendency to fall into quite another kind of metre, the iambic ... The first speech of Lysias, which is in a designedly plain and familiar style for the most part (the speaker is represented as a simple honest man, grievously wronged), shows in 30 lines of the Oxford text (sections 15-18) 19 fragments of iambic trimeters of comic type, and we may be sure that actual speech would contain a higher proportion, for Arist. says, *ll. cc.*, that whole trimeters were often undesignedly uttered. Similarly in English, = careless prose style often runs into rough blank verse, a conspicuous fault in Dickens, for instance."<sup>20</sup> The occasional appearance of accidental iambic lengths in the New Testament calls for no explanation ; in fact, it is rather the absence of such "metrical" lengths that would have been puzzling.

A comparison of two extant passages, one Greek and one Latin, sheds some light on the whole question of the possible presence in the New Testament of unrecognized classical quotations ; so far as I can discover, this comparison, and the inference to be drawn from it, has not been made. The first passage is from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Socrates (3.16 = PG 67, 421 C - 424 A) ; the context is significant : Socrates argues in defence of Christians' learning τὴν Ἑλλήνων παιδείαν. The pertinent section runs as follows :

"Should any one imagine that in making these assertions we wrest the Scriptures from their legitimate construction, let it be remembered that the Apostle not only does not forbid our being instructed in Greek learning, but that he himself seems by no

<sup>20</sup> H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Literature*, p. 81 (with n. 2). The references to Aristotle are *Poetics* 1449<sup>a</sup> 24, *Rhetoric* 1408<sup>b</sup> 33, 1404<sup>a</sup> 31.

means to have neglected it, inasmuch as he knows many of the sayings of the Greeks. Whence did he get the saying, 'The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow-bellies,' but from a perusal of The *Oracles* of Epimenides, the Cretan Initiator? Or how would he have known this, 'For we are also his offspring,' had he not been acquainted with The *Phenomena* of Aratus the astronomer? Again this sentence, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' is a sufficient proof that he was conversant with the tragedies of Euripides. But what need is there of enlarging on this point? It is well known that in ancient times the doctors of the church by unhindered usage were accustomed to exercise themselves in the learning of the Greeks, until they had reached an advanced age: this they did with a view to improve themselves in eloquence and to strengthen and polish their mind, and at the same time to enable them to refute the errors of the heathen." (tr. A. C. Zenos)

The second passage is from the 70th *epistula* of Saint Jerome (section 2); in this letter (addressed to Flavius Magnus, *orator urbis Romae*) Jerome, like Socrates, defends the "pagan" classics:

quod autem quaeris in calce epistulae cur in opusculis nostris saecularium litterarum interdum ponamus exempla, et candorem ecclesiae ethnicorum sordibus polluamus, breviter responsum habeto: ... et Paulus apostolus Epimenidis poetac abusus versiculo est, sribens ad Titum: "Cretenses semper mendaces, malac bestiae, ventres pigri." cuius heroici hemisticchium postea Callimachus usurpavit. neo mirum si apud Latinos metrum non servet ad verbum expressa translatio, cum Homerus eadem lingua versus in prosam vix cohaereat. in alia quoque epistula Menandri ponit senarium: "corrumpunt mores bonos confabulationes pessimae." et apud Athenienses in Martis curia disputans Aratum testem vocat: "ipsius enim et genus sumus", quod Graece dicitur: τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσχεται, et est clausula versus heroici.

The long debate in the early Church over the value (or lack of it) of pagan literature is well-known. These two passages (and others) show that Christian defenders of the "classics" had formulated — a stock argument the fact that even sacred scripture quoted Greek literature. (Jerome describes Aratus' words as a "clausula versus heroici"; by this he means that they are the end of a hexameter line. In fact, they are the beginning of a hexameter. This is a clear indication — if one were needed — that his argument is derivative; he could not have made this mistake, had he himself consulted Aratus' poem and not rather

borrowed his reference from a secondary authority.) It can be no accident that both Socrates and Jerome adduce the same three quotations for the same purpose<sup>31</sup>; they clearly are both using the same traditional argument. Clement of Alexandria, whom Jaeger has described as "the first author who paid special attention to such literary quotations in the books of the New Testament",<sup>32</sup> knew only these same three quotations. Apparently no one between Clement on the one hand and Jerome and Socrates on the other was able to discover any additional quotations. (In the ninth century the learned Photius, in an enquiry entitled Περὶ τῶν χρήσασιν τῶν ἔξω ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ Γραφῇ εὑρισκομένων (*PG* 101.813A-D) still knows only the same three.) We have seen the contexts in which these three quotations appear together; they are adduced for a polemic purpose, to justify the study of classical literature on the part of Christians. Three quotations from all of the New Testament — all from "Paul" — are not many. The probable inference is plain: If these Christian apologists for the classics had known of other quotations in the New Testament which would have bolstered their argument, they surely would have cited them. We must conclude that they knew of no others. Yet these Christians of the early Church were familiar with a much larger corpus of Greek literature than we; *certainly they knew all the Greek literature known to the authors of the New Testament.* And there were real scholars among them; one need only mention Clement, Origen, Basil and the two Gregories, Augustine, and Jerome.

An *argumentum ex silentio* is never fully satisfying; it can give us only probability. But if, in this case, we must resign ourselves to probabilities, at least the probabilities are strong, and they can be clearly stated: 1) there are three certain classical quotations in the New Testament; 2) it is extremely unlikely that any additional classical quotations have been or will be found in the New Testament.

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<sup>31</sup> The apparent discrepancy between the references to Euripides and Menander has been discussed above.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 17), p. 112, n. 28.

## POSTSCRIPT

Since the writing of this paper Professor Margaret Schatkin of Boston College has very kindly called my attention to the discussion by Kirsopp Lake of *Acts* 17.28, "Your Own Poets" (= Additional Note XX in *The Beginnings of Christianity*. Part I. Vol. V. pp. 246-251). Professor Lake is inclined to accept the reconstruction of Rendel Harris and writes, for instance, "This evidence seems sufficient to justify the statement that 'we live and move and have our being' is a reference to Epimenides" (p. 250). There is no need of going over his opinions point by point; I am venturesome enough to state that his position is adequately refuted in the preceding pages and no longer merits serious consideration. Nor can I recommend to the reader another article to which Professor Schatkin has courteously called my attention: Alphons Marth, S. J., "Die Zitate des hl. Paulus aus der Profanliteratur" in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 37, 1913, 889-895. Father Marth gives a useful list of references (all the essential ones and more are included in the present paper), but he has not evaluated them as critically as one might wish. Furthermore, in his eagerness to argue for a first-hand familiarity with *Profanliteratur* on the part of Paul (and he attributes without question to the historical Paul not only *1 Cor.* 15.33 but also *Acts* 17.28 and *Titus* 1.12), he fails to distinguish adequately between *hypothesis* and *probability*. (It of course goes without saying that in the present paper, because of the enormous modern literature on the subject, I have had to be rigidly selective in my bibliographical references. I quote what seemed to me most pertinent and/or useful — a procedure by its very nature to a certain extent arbitrary.) I should also like to thank Professor Bruce M. Metzger of the Princeton Theological Seminary, who graciously read this paper and made several helpful suggestions.